1; Karsten--120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 784, 752 (1928-29)

"A full-grown Jibaro man has a special reason for avoiding salt. Salt is regarded as an antidote against arrow-poison and the Jibaros therefore are of opinion that if a man eats salt, the arrow-poison he uses in hunting will become useless. Children, on the other hand, have a special liking for salt, and when they get it, they may be seen eating salt with pleasure just as children among civilized peoples eat sugar."

l: Karsten--152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
752 (1928-29)

"Salt and sugar are antidotes against the poison or are, at any rate regarded as antidotes. If an Indian has accidentally been wounded by a poisoned arrow, a small quantity of salt is dissolved in water and given him to drink. The Indians assert that in this case the harmful effects of the poison will fail to appear.

The same holds true of sugar. Real hunters among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians abstain entirely from chewing sugar cane and eating sweet things, because they believe that they will lose the power of catching animals and birds of the forest with poisoned arrows."

2: Stirling--120 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 752

"It is also the duty of the wishinu to treat natural diseases. The remedies used are generally herbs or extracts taken internally or applied externally according to the nature of the trouble. In the case of broken limbs, chicle is put around the injured member as a cast after first setting the bone. Leaves are wrapped around this and wooded splints placed over the leaves and fastened by means of vine wrappings."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

10: Anthony--158 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 825, 752

"These people have a very wholesome respect for the snakes of their jungles and with good reason, for there are several venomous varieties among them. It is said they have an antidote for snake bite, using some plant which counteracts the venom. Because they go about barefooted, they are often bitten but, thanks to this plant, seldom killed by a snake. Among the material collected during a day's work I had a small coral snake (genus Micrurus) which was alive although somewhat incapacitated through rough handling in capture. At the time I judged it to be a non-venomous species, but nevertheless retained enough caution to handle it by the back of the neck so it could not strike me. A Jivaro who was standing over our table, very much interested in everything that was transpiring, displayed some apprehension when I showed him the snake coiled up in a small can, and beat a very hasty retreat when I took it out in my hand, acting in much the same manner as might a timid girl in the presence of a mouse."

On the other hand, wounds received in war or in hunting are frequent. I have described the procedure of asking the iguanchi for a cure in these serious cases. It is very probable that the Jíbaros do not have any efficient remedy for snakebite. Rimbach (1) described the treatment given one of his oarsmen who was bitten by a venomous snake, as follows: he took a little round wooden bowl, filled it with tobacco and, having put it up to his mouth, he began to sing night and day into the interior of the bowl some unintelligible phrases following a certain melody; he evidently believed that by these songs he would make the poison pass from his body into the tobacco, for from time to time, he burned it and immediately resumed him monotonous chant; he did not undergo any other medical treatment.

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1. A. Rimbach. Reise im Gebiet des oberen Amazonas (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, V. XXXII, 1897, p. 360-409) (with one map), p. 381.

25: Vigna --40 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 752, 825

When a Jíbaro is bitten by a snake, special, empiric, and superstitious cures are utilized. The patient is not allowed in the common house (He must make for himself a little hut of branches and leaves outside of the house), or, in the house they keep him apart by means of leaves and branches. They fear that the "evil eye" is acting on the patient and making the poison more efficacious. Snake bite is cured with infusions of the leaves of the "Huaco" and enemas of water and very strong pepper.

When someone knows that a Jíbaro has been bitten by a snake, he hurries to bite a machete or some iron as preservative. As soon as the sick person recovers, a great fiesta is organized in the house. All who participate, including the patient, paint their bodies a black color and in the form of a snake. This will serve to prevent bites in the future.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[10]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanⁿ* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makanⁿ*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*payi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanⁿ* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanⁿ* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hansematā*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respectable beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand. Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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• [752]

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby